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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

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Justice (Vol. 4, Iss. 23)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers
of the world
unite! You
have nothing to
lose but your
chains."

Vol. IV, No. 28

New York, Friday June 2, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

CONFERENCES CONTINUE WITH PROTECTIVE ASS'N

Union Rejects Demands of Manufacturers — Sub-Committee Appointed to Discuss Terms of New Agreement

As reported last week, the first conference with the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, held on Tuesday, May 23, at the Hotel Marlborough, did not produce any tangible results so far. The representatives of the Association stubbornly insisted that all cloak associations in New York City, including even independent manufacturers, participate in this conference. The Union declined to accede to this proposal on the ground that it was conferring to negotiate an agreement with the Cloak and Suit Protective Association,

and it would consequently deal, during these particular negotiations, with the Protective Association only. The first conference adjourned after the Union had submitted a memorandum in writing on this subject as well as on all the underlying problems confronting our industry and the Union's view of their solution.

The understanding, after the adjournment, was that the Union is to hear from the Association regarding another conference. Three days later the Protective Association notified the Union that it was ready for another conference, but owing to Decoration Day, and the fact that many persons

had gone out of town during the first part of the week, the second conference was laid over for Wednesday, May 31.

The meeting took place again at the Hotel Marlborough, and the entire conference committee of the Union was present. The Association was also represented by its entire committee. The manufacturers did not present any demands for a change in the work system or for a longer workday, but asked for a wage reduction, the abolition of pay for legal holidays and the right to discharge and reorganize their shops once a year without review.

President Schlesinger informed the representatives of the Association that the question of the right of employers to discharge workers without review could not be considered. "If the manufacturers desire to abolish the review provision," he said, "we will agree, providing the Union may call a strike against the employer if the discharge is unjust." President Schlesinger also stated to the employers that any general reduction of wages was out of the question. The Union maintains the same attitude with regard to the legal holidays which have existed in the industry for so many years, and which the workers will not give up.

After a conference, which lasted until late at night, it was finally decided to refer the attempt of working out a satisfactory settlement and an agreement to a sub-committee composed of an equal number of persons from both sides.

In the course of a few days the names of the members of the sub-committee, both of the Union and the Association, will be made known and the sub-committee will proceed to work.

APPELLATE DIVISION UPHOLDS UNION IN INJUNCTION CASE

Press Hails Decision as Great Victory for International—Union Can Now Sue Employers for Wages Lost in Last General Cloak Strike

A new, great victory was scored by our International Union and the Cloakmakers' organization of New York. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the first department, in a decision handed down on Friday, May 26, rejected the appeal of the New York Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association against the decision of Judge Robert F. Wagner, making permanent the injunction granted to the Union last January against the Protective Association which brought the general cloak strike of last winter to a speedy end.

When the Protective Association announced, at that time, that it opened its shops and that the workers may return to work under the old conditions, it also declared that it would take an appeal from the decision of Judge Wagner. The Association had hoped that the injunction against it would be revoked some time before the agreement expires, but this hope did not materialize. The higher court sustained the judgment of Justice Wagner.

This event is one of the most im-

portant chapters in the fights between capital and labor in America. As a matter of fact, it has no parallel. The daring step of our International and of the Cloakmakers' Union in applying for an injunction against the manufacturers in the course of a general strike has called forth a discussion not only in the labor movement, but throughout the industrial world. Now, through the decision of the Appellate Division, the case has come up again to the surface, and is being widely and favorably discussed as a sagacious and creditable move on the part of our International.

When last Friday night the news of this decision became known at the meeting of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, it was greeted by the delegates with great applause. The delegates were overjoyed by the fact that the issues in the great fight, which they had won last winter, were so palpably just and clear that even capitalist judges had to recognize them and affirm them. It was also added proof that our Union is not eager to fight merely for the sake of fighting, but that it insists upon its

rights and knows how to defend them.

There lies in this decision a lesson and an admonition to the cloak manufacturers of New York not to be led into new illusions and pitfalls with regard to the Union. If ever another attempt is made to undermine or to break down the work-standards in the industry of New York, it will meet with the same fate as the last attempt of the Protective Association. The membership of the Union, as well as the general public, know by this time that theirs is a just and an honest cause—that they have at heart the interest of the industry in general.

We believe our readers will be intensely interested to know the principal motives which prompted the Appellate Division, speaking through Justice Page, who wrote the decision, to affirm the decision of Judge Wagner in making permanent the restraining injunction. We quote from it the concluding arguments of the opinion:

"The appellants base their conclusion on the cases holding (1) that an injunction will not issue to compel

performers in the musical and dramatic world will take part. The opening days will be days of fun, entertainment and all-around fun.

But the concert is really not the main attraction when one speaks of the Unity House in Forest Park. Those who have visited it know how beautiful its surroundings are—the forests, the Unity Lake, the boating, etc., which gladden the heart and cheer the eye from the moment one lands there to the moment of departure.

Register at, once in the office of the Waist and Dressmakers' Joint Board, at 16 West 21st Street.

one man to work for another, although he may have agreed to do so, nor (2) will it restrain him from breaking his contract with A and entering into the employment of B unless his services are so unique and extraordinary that another cannot be readily secured to adequately fill his place. The distinguishing feature of those cases and this under consideration, is in the principles applicable to each. In the first, the court can not supervise his work and has no power against the man's will to make him work. Also in the first and second cases, another man can be employed to do the work, and any detriment could be compensated in damages. The instant case does not arise out of contract for individual employment. Two organizations, one composed of employers and the other of employees, have entered into an agreement. Each had power through the consent of its members to enter into a binding obligation in their behalf. By the constitution or by-law of each, power is given to the organization to enforce through disciplinary proceedings which have been demonstrated to be effective, compliance with the terms and conditions to which it has subscribed. This contract has mutual obligations binding on the parties thereto. Each party knows the obligation that it has assumed and the consequences of failure or refusal to perform those requirements. Through its control of its members it can compel performance. Under such circumstances, a decree of a court of equity can be enforced against either party and in favor of the other. (Grain Contracting Co. v. Bennett, 174 App. Div., 244, 245.) As organization, having such power to require performance by individual members, can through its officers be compelled to exercise that power. There is in this contract a mutuality of obligation, and there is also a mutuality of remedy for its enforcement.

The appellants continually refer to this as a mandatory injunction. The only mandatory feature is that which required the Association to meet and rescind the resolution of October 25, 1921. Inasmuch as the court en-

(Continued on Page 3.)

Forest Park Unity House Opens Friday, June 16th

Registrations Already Being Accepted

The Waistmakers' Unity House in Forest Park, in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania, is the property of the Joint Board in the waist and dress industry, and is being managed by a Unity Committee, which consists of delegates to the Joint Board. This committee is constantly on the lookout to see that the Unity estate in Forest Park is managed in the best

possible manner, and that it gives complete satisfaction to all visitors.

The Unity House will open this year on Friday, June 16, and those who intend to be at the opening celebration are requested to register immediately.

Like every year, the opening of the Unity House will be marked by a splendid concert in which well-known

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

ANOTHER EUROPEAN CRISIS AVERTED

MAY 31 was the last day when Germany could reply to the demands of the Reparation Commission for Allied financial control of Germany and for further increases in taxation. Germany had protested against this ultimatum. France threatened with invasion upon failure of Germany to comply with the commission's demands. Great Britain looked upon these threats with dismay. All Europe was agog. Another first-class crisis was at hand.

But it did not come off. European diplomats, if they can't do anything constructive, have learned the art of dodging crises. May 31 has passed and the French armies are still on French soil, to the evident chagrin of Marshall Foch and his crew. Germany has again decided to yield. Although the note to the Reparation Commission has not at this writing been made public, it is certain that Germany fully agreed to fulfill the Allied demands. The German government, however, made one reservation that all the concessions are made, demands accepted to and promises given on the condition of Germany's obtaining an international loan under circumstances and on terms bearable for Germany.

This reply came after the commission of international bankers now in session in Paris had served notice on Germany that further considerations of a billion-dollar loan to the German government was out of the question until Germany accepts in full the conditions of the ultimatum. America, represented by J. P. Morgan, is a member of the bankers' commission. It is therefore regarded as being more powerful and effective than the purely political and diplomatic bodies which have stepped forward from the real source of authority—finance. The German government has consequently patched up the breach between Chancellor Wirth and Finance Minister Hoeses, and has made a tremendous effort to conciliate the exacting Reparation Commission.

The dominant need of Germany, as it is of Russia, is to secure a loan, for which it is prepared to go a long way in offering concessions to the Allies. And there is not the slightest doubt that the bankers and their subsidiary bands of diplomats will utilize their powers to the utmost. The Allies will now have a singular opportunity to press Germany to abrogate its treaty with Russia, signed at Rapallo a few weeks ago. France and the United States, if not Great Britain, will insist upon this as one of the conditions for a loan. Germany will be forced into a position where it will have to choose between the Allied loan and the abrogation of its treaty with Russia, or to hold to the treaty and give up the loan. It is, of course, impossible to say now what action Germany will take. It is clear, however, that the ever-pending European crisis has not been averted. It has only been postponed.

LYLOYD GEORGE TRIUMPHANT IN PARLIAMENT

IT has been traditional for Parliament to give Lloyd George an overwhelming vote of confidence whenever he asks for it. His most recent triumph was scored on May 25, when he delivered his speech on the Genoa Conference in the House of Commons.

Parliament could not have endorsed the achievements of the Genoa Conference. There were none. It was then purely a case of waxing enthusiastic over Lloyd George's intention to bring a common settlement, or over the prospective conference at The Hague. As usual, his speech was interesting, but it did not differ from the numerous other speeches he delivered on Russia. He scared his hearers with his pictures of the thunderous conditions of the European atmosphere in which the conference assembled, warnings of the grave dangers arising out of the "ferce friendship" between Russia and Germany, driven by common misfortune to unite their armed strength against the rest of Europe. He claimed credit for the so-called non-aggression pact as a guarantee that for six months Europe would seek peaceable means of avoiding the alternative of settling her differences by force. He stated that agreement with Russia was the kernel of the entire question. He looked forward to The Hague for the practical fruition of the work at Genoa.

France and the United States take another view of the situation. Washington resents Lloyd George's statement regarding the potential military strength of Russia as encouraging to the Bolshevik regime. Poincaree made the idea of a strong Red army. What is more, France is determined more than ever to undermine the coming conference at The Hague. And the prospects of American participation seem further away than ever. Lloyd George is fully aware of this. He is then preparing Parliament for a separate treaty with Russia?

RAIL WORKERS SUFFER ANOTHER WAGE CUT

WITHIN almost a week three significant events occurred in connection with the railway industry. First came the dinner at the White House that the President gave in honor of the railroad magnates. A few days later came the announcement of the decision by the Interstate Commerce Commission ordering a reduction of 10 per cent in freight rates. This was followed two days later by the decision of the Railroad Labor Board slashing the wages of 400,000 railway workers 12.5 per cent.

This, of course, is not mere coincidence. The events followed a well-ordered plan. The Interstate Commerce Commission, the Railway Labor Board, the railway magnates were no doubt dominated by the single desire to urge on the widely advertised wave of prosperity which is rather slow in coming. Reduced rates, according to this theory, would stimulate shipping which would in turn increase the volume of business, etc. But lower rates would mean lower profits. The only way out, therefore, was to make the workers bear the burden.

The railroad wage controversy was pending before the Labor Board for the last several months. The hearings began in Chicago, on March 6 and ended on April 29. All except three or four of the larger railway systems, and all classes of employees except those in train, yard and engine service, who were then conducting negotiations with the railroads which had not ended when the hearings began, were affected. The classes not embraced

in the hearings number from 30 to 35 per cent of the total of railway employees. That is, the present decision affects mostly the maintenance of the way men. Although pending settlement of their working rules, the Big Four Brotherhoods and the Switchmen's Union are not parties to any dispute before the Labor Board, it is generally conceded as inevitable that they must soon face a wage fight. Impending decisions are expected within a few days affecting 500,000 railway shopmen and about 200,000 clerks, telegraphers and station employees.

The decision affecting the maintenance of the way men is only the beginning of a general movement for slashing the wages of the two million workers employed in the railway industry. It must be remembered that only a year ago the Labor Board slashed \$400,000,000 from the wages of two million workers in this industry. The present cut amounts to \$48,000,000 a year. In other words, the wages now ranging from 28 to 40 cents an hour will, after July 3, range from 23 to 35 cents an hour.

The Labor Board did not render a unanimous decision. Though the decision was concurred in by the three members representing the public, as well as the three railroad members, the three labor members gave out a sharply dissenting opinion, in which the majority decision is criticized as setting wages below the minimum standard of subsistence. The statement of the labor members of the Board reads in part:

"The rates of pay established under this decision are not based upon the human needs of the hundreds of thousands of families involved. They are sufficient to provide those families with the absolute essentials. The earning of this large group of railroad employees will not provide the father of a family with as much food as is allowed convicts in the Cook County, Illinois, jail."

Will the workers abide by this decision? Will they stand by and wait for the Board to cut the wages of the other railway workers? Leaders of the American Federation of Labor Railway Department declared that strike votes may be sent out by its Executive Council. But the maintenance of way organization is, for the most part, made up of unskilled workers, and a strike by this class alone will not achieve its end. It is, however, doubtful whether a general railroad strike at this time is possible.

THE MINERS' TRIAL IN WEST VIRGINIA

THE acquittal of William Blizard, the first victim of the "treason" frame-up in West Virginia, marks an important victory for the miners. The coal barons and their government in that state may now abandon their nefarious lie-infested "case" against the miners. For the government as well as for the coal barons of West Virginia the trial at Charles Town has thus far been an unfortunate experience. Despite all their efforts to conceal their practices, the sinister "mine-guard" system of government has been laid bare.

William Blizard, it will be remembered, was indicted on numerous charges, such as treason, murder, insurrection and conspiracy. But none of these charges could be supported with anything but the frenzied opposition of the coal barons and their aids.

Although dates have already been set for the trial of the other defendants, there is evidence that the prosecution has lost heart and is going to abandon their costly "frame-up" against the miners. But that, of course, does not mean that they are going to give up their fight against the United Mine Workers. It means only a change of tactics. But the miners' union knows what it is up against, and knows that victory will belong to the miners.

THE TARIFF BILL BEFORE THE SENATE

ONE of the big traditional issues before the country is whether a tariff wall should be erected around American industries. Traditionally, it is the issue which divides the Republicans and Democratic parties. The former are for the measure, the latter are opposed.

Tariffs and Republicanism are inextricably bound together. It was, therefore, to be expected that the present administration would utilize this as the chief remedy for bringing about "normalcy." The Fordney-McCumber tariff bill, which has been before the Senate for some time, will continue to be the subject of the hottest political struggle through the summer, which will probably end in a victory for the administration.

What is the tariff program? The New York "World" began a few days ago a series of articles which answer this question. Here are some instructive points:

"A small group of super-lobbyists, armed with the delegated power of gigantic industrial monopolies, in many cases arrogantly demanded and obtained prohibitive rates which would insure income on swollen war profits as well as old plants. These super-lobbyists are a new, specialized product of concerted pressure exerted by combinations. Under their dictation the rates of the bill have been jacked up an average of 50 per cent above the levels of the Payne-Aldrich tariff—the highest heretofore—which caused a revolt in the country."

It means a further jacking up of the cost of living; it also means further unemployment and depression, but it also means huge profits to the various groups of manufacturers affected by this bill, and that is the prime consideration of our government.

Co-operation and the Mine Strike

Six carloads of flour, bacon and other staples were recently dispatched by the Organized Labor Co-operative Society of Baltimore, Md., to the striking coal miners of West Virginia and Western Maryland. This society, organized by unionists, is now rendering a great service to the cause of the workers. Money collected by strike committees of the miners, headed by Elizabeth Gilman, of Baltimore, is disbursed through the co-operative store for supplies for the miners. During the past few months the sum of \$15,000 was spent through the co-operative for strike relief. Every dollar spent in the co-operative store for food for the

strikers bought more goods than could be gotten through private firms organized for profit.

This society, which is affiliated with The Co-operative League, has a membership of more than a thousand workers. It is run strictly on the Rochdale plan; no member has more than one vote, regardless of the number of shares he may own. As active women's guild organized within the society is developing plans for a co-operative camp to be conducted this summer at the Patapsco Forest Reserve. At a small cost, camping facilities will be provided for the families of the co-operators.

New Storm in Italy

By ANGELO TUNURATI

Following a general strike in Rome last week, in protest against an attack by the Fascisti on the workers' quarter of the city, civil war has been resumed in the big industrial centers of Italy, with more than 100 killed and wounded in the first days of the fighting. There had been a period of quiet for months, after several weeks of desperate fighting between the Fascisti and groups of armed workers who have sworn to defend themselves and their organizations against the ferocity of the White Guard.

The vicious anti-labor elements were aroused to fury when Russian delegates were invited to take part in the economic conference at Genoa. Members of the "squads of action" of the Fasci di Combattimento, the Fascisti organization, took advantage of every opportunity to insult the Soviet delegates while they were parleying with the representatives of other European states. Particular effort was made to affront the Russians at the conclusion of the economic conference, when a treaty between Italy and Russia was being drafted.

At this delicate time came an imposing funeral in Rome for Toti, the one-legged Bersagliero who died fighting against the Austrians. After the funeral thousands of Fascisti, armed with pistols and clubs, invaded a quarter of the city that is populated chiefly by Socialist and Communist street car workers and iron workers. Men, women and children were driven from the streets and sidewalks. Cafes where workers congregated were wrecked by the invaders.

The workers made no hostile demonstration against the armed Fascisti, for they were without weapons with which to defend themselves. But they rushed to combat with stones and clubs when the White Guard gunmen began firing through the windows of their homes. The firing of the street shots by the Fascisti was a signal for an attack by the Royal Guard, sturdy, little policemen from Sardinia and Corsica, who came on

the run from hiding places nearby to rout the Fascisti. That conditions have changed in Italy was shown by the direction in which the rifles of the Royal Guard were pointed. A year ago, in similar clashes between the Fascisti and Socialist and Communist members of labor organizations, the workers, though on the defensive, were shot down and arrested. The aggressors never were interfered with. In last week's fight the Fascisti were shot down ruthlessly. Several were fatally wounded and scores carried away bullet wounds or bruises as mementoes of their battle with the military police.

A general strike became effective in Rome almost as soon as the news of the Fascisti attack on their homes reached the workers. All industries were paralyzed as the workers marched from the street cars, shops and mills to their homes, there to prepare barricades for expected return attacks by the White Guard thugs. They did not return, but conducted similar raids on unarmed workers in Genoa, Bologna and other cities.

Instead of being terrorized into inactivity by the raids of the armed bands, the workers have organized a united front to face the enemy. The movement for solidarity was started several months ago at a meeting in Rome of delegates from the General Confederation of Labor, Seamen's Union, Railwaymen's Union, Union of Italian Workers, Federation of Post and Telegraph Workers, Stewards' Union and the Anarchist Workers' Union. It was agreed to prepare machinery for a national general strike as a weapon against White Guard uprisings.

In the province of Cremona the Fascisti attacks have brought about the startling alliance of the Socialist and Catholic workers. This rich region of Lombardy suffered most from the attacks of gunmen in the pay of the landowners because the owning class feared its fall at the hands of the Socialists, who controlled two-thirds of the municipalities. The others were controlled by the Popular Party (Catholics).

One after another the eighty Socialist municipalities were taken by assault by armed Fascisti with the open help of the police. The Socialist officials were given the choice of handing in their resignations or going into exile. Occasionally the Fascisti murdered the workers' representatives to hasten their departure from office.

After routing all Socialists' officeholders, the Fascisti turned on the Catholics and gave them the same treatment. In the places of the ousted Socialists and Catholics were appointed men prominent in the ranks of the White Guard.

The terrorism brought the Socialists and Catholics together at a conference at Cremona, at which pledges were made to join for the defense of labor in the economic field, to protect the administrative bodies from attacks from the government at Rome, and to propose to their respective political parties that there be common political action in the future.

Those who had witnessed the fierce electoral combats between Socialists and Catholics in the last were astounded by this alliance. The national executive committees of the Socialist and Popular parties remonstrated with the Cremona delegates for their

recommendation for common political action.

Women soon will be brought into political conflicts, it is expected. Modigliani, Socialist Deputy, last week introduced a measure in Parliament for the enfranchisement of women. Although the Socialists realize that the enactment of this measure will be a blow to the Socialist Party, because the majority of the

women of Italy are dominated by the Catholic Church, and will vote for Popular Party candidates, the Socialist Deputies say they will vote for suffrage as woman's right.

Because of the progressive tendency of the Popular Party, which is classed as radical in spite of its alliance with the church, the enfranchisement of the fair sex is not much feared by the "lefts" in Parliament.

High Court Decides in Favor of Union

(Continued from Page 1.)

joined the Association from putting the same into effect, or proceeding under it, whether it remained on the minute book of the organization or was rescinded, made little difference. It was a brutum fulmen. The injunction merely required that the defendants should not break their contract under which the parties had conducted their affairs for two years and six months, to the end that the relations under the contract might continue until the trial of the action. The term of the contract would expire in six months. The defendants were not required to do anything that they had not agreed to do, nor were they prohibited from doing anything that they had a right to do under the contract. The liberty of the employer to make agreements with his employees as to compensation, was preserved subject only to the limits voluntarily assumed by the terms of the agreement.

It is urged that, by reason of changes in the expense of living and the condition of unemployment, the terms have become onerous, and the expense of production makes the business unprofitable to the manufacturer. This excuse for the non-performance of a contract has within the last few years been frequently presented to the courts, but has never been accepted. Unless the parties have stipulated, in terms, for relief because of changed conditions, they must perform their contract as it is written.

Furthermore this injunction, by preserving the status quo, prevented the continuance of an industrial impasse, in which the employers were striving to force a change of the contract relations of the parties by a refusal to continue the men in their employ according to the agreement, and the employees were refusing to work except on the old terms. Experience has shown that such industrial struggles lead to lockouts, strikes, and acts of violence. In the end one side or the other is compelled to yield through financial exhaustion. Both sides have lost. If the employer is successful, the men return to work embittered. If the employees win, they have inflicted incalculable loss on the employer, and the advantage gained does not offset the loss of wages during the period of the strike. But above all, the employer and employee, instead of co-operating to promote the success of the industry, become permanently divided into hostile groups, each resentful and suspicious of the other. Therefore, when the employees, instead of resorting to force to secure his rights, an archaic method abandoned by civilized men, seek redress in the tribunal constituted by the government to protect its citizens in their rights and redress their wrongs, it is the duty of the court to stop all individual attempts to take the law into their own hands, and compel both parties to await an orderly judicial determination of the controversy.

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JUSTICE

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A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

(London Daily Herald Service)
We seem to be living in the midst of a battle of words. The editor of the "Times" says that Mr. Lloyd George said something that Mr. Lloyd George says he didn't say. Mr. Barthou is called in to prove that Mr. Lloyd George, on the contrary, said the exact opposite; Mr. Chamberlain is put up in Parliament to back up Mr. Barthou, and newspapers discuss the matter as an international event of the greatest importance. And all the while, not Mr. Lloyd George, or anybody in England or France (except, perhaps, our one labor newspaper and those who think like it on international affairs) seems to feel it necessary to ask whether the awful accusation leveled at the Prime Minister by the "Times" would matter if it were true—whether, in fact, the thing he didn't say was not true, whether he said it or not! It is pretty clear to any discerning mind that the Entente between the diplomats of France and the diplomats of Britain has reached the breaking point, simply because they are both aiming at widely differing policies. As to the Entente between the English and French people, I suppose that exists (or doesn't exist) as much as it ever did (or didn't). That kind of real Entente, however, is the last thing

that matters to the sort of people who can lash themselves into a fury of words because the editor of the "Times" says that Mr. Lloyd George says something that he says he didn't say!

The Threat to Labor

In her opening address to the National Conference of Labor Women, just assembled at Leamington, Margaret Bondfield warned her listeners of the attempt now being made to "drive the workers back to the old dreary fight they had experienced in the past," and said that moral courage was never needed more than now, when "starvation is an ally to the employer." The engineering lookout simply justifies her warning. The long-deferred Court of Inquiry has sat and concluded, and, unless it is found necessary to reopen it, the chairman's report will be published in due course. But its proceedings were not very encouraging, balked as they were at every step by the recalcitrant attitude of the employers, represented by Sir Allan Smith. The latter refused to call any witnesses, thus depriving the men of the opportunity of cross-examination, which they themselves gave freely to the employers. When the chairman, Sir William Mackenzie, adjourned the inquiry in order to attempt to bring both sides together by submitting cer-

tain proposals to them, it was Sir Allan Smith who rejected the proposals, though the men were willing to accept them. Certainly, the inquiry has rather improved the men's position than that of the employers; and in addition, the attempt of the former to get back the men to work as individuals and thus to attack the principle of trade unionism, has practically failed, very few of the men being tempted, even under the stress of starvation, to such disloyalty. But it looks as though the lockout were still to be a deadlock, unless some pressure can be brought to bear upon the employers who are evidently waiting for the men to give in, as the miners had to give in a year ago, because they could not see their families going without food any longer. That, however, is no settlement, as the mine owners are now beginning to find in South Wales.

Ireland's Truce of God

The best Irish news that has been forthcoming for many days is that of the "Truce of God," made last week for four days only, but now extended, perhaps indefinitely. The effect of merely suspending all week-end meetings, both for and against the Peace Treaty, was in itself a salutary one, again showing how words can, unconsciously perhaps, make slaves of us all. Real negotiations seem to be to proceedings between the chiefs of the rival parties; and an excellent step was taken by the I. R. A. rebels when they consented to evacuate the Ballast Office of the Four Courts, because their continued occupation of

that department would have meant unemployment to thousands in the port of Dublin. And labor has to be considered just now in Ireland. That is the result of the firm steps they have taken towards securing peace in the last few weeks. Neither side is anxious to lose the support of labor at the coming elections.

Economy and Education

The fruits of the recent London County Council elections are now being enjoyed by the ratepayers, who then returned a majority of so-called "economists" for the principal plank of its program, and it is beginning to justify it by cutting down the education of the poor. At yesterday's sitting of the council the recommendation of the Education Committee that the council should seek release from its statutory obligations to provide day continuation schools, was adopted, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the labor minority, who demanded that their children should be given as good opportunities for education as were enjoyed by the children of the members on the municipal reform benches.

Coming, as I have recently, from Russia, where the child in the past, not last, when expenditure is under discussion, and where the country is dotted over with new educational experiments and undertakings (this parsimony in the education of English workers' children seems to me the last proof of the failure of the capitalist system to realize the ambitions or ideals of labor).

as I did! Thinking he misunderstood me, I said, 'Because they did not believe in fighting they are in prison—they cannot fight their way out.'

"Well, they are better off. I fought. I went over. And look at me now!"

"I recalled the cases of shell shock and partial insanity and reassuringly said, more in answer to the tragic note in his voice than to his words. There is nothing new with you—you look all right!"

"Yes, I look all right to you—you did not see before. Even so, you know me hardly recognize me now. I am not the same. I was an expert mechanic. Now I cannot do the simplest mechanical work of my trade. I cannot concentrate sufficiently to learn anything new. See my white hair? The war did that. I am a mental and physical wreck. Sign that petition! Sure I'll sign it!"

RAILWAY LABOR UNIONS DE-CLARE FOR CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

The world-wide movement for labor co-operation has set a new record during the past week. The Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, in convention at Dallas, Texas, has unanimously ratified a resolution instructing its grand officers to organize immediately a co-operative national bank, with a probable capital of \$1,000,000. The action followed an address before the convention by Walter F. McCabe, vice-president and manager of the B. of L. E. Co-operative National Bank of Cleveland, who emphasized labor's great opportunity to gain industrial power if it but mobilized its own funds in its own co-operative banks.

Similar action has been taken by the executive board of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, meeting in St. Louis, which plans a Telegraphers' Co-operative Bank, capitalized at \$500,000 plus surplus.

Amnesty Day in Chicago

(Scenes, Facts, Impressions)

By BERTHA HALE WHITE

According to that publication which, frankly and without any equivocation whatsoever, confesses itself to be the world's greatest newspaper, the Chicago Tribune, on every transport point, at every elevated station, at every theater, at all railroad depots, women and girls stood holding a petition for the release of all political prisoners, and invited that rushing, milling, heading mob known locally as the "Saturday Loop Crowd" to sign. And they signed—on an average, for every amnesty worker, one signature every three minutes all through the hours of the day.

Amnesty workers! Representing many viewpoints, but united on this vital issue of freedom of speech, the right to the expression of the opinions dictated by conscience—the Woman's Church Federation, the Farmer Labor Party, the Teachers' Federation, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Woman's Trade Union League, the Socialist Party, the Industrial Workers of the World—each had workers on the ground and every worker had a story. They are illuminating. Space will not permit telling them all.—Just one story, perhaps—a sort of composite story, made up of the experiences related by the workers when they made their reports.

"A gruff old gentleman, Kentucky Colonel type of the melodrama school, stood listening while I explained the amnesty petition. Impatience defeated his Southern chivalry. 'Young women, I see you have a wedding ring upon your finger. Does your husband know what you are doing?' 'I assured him that my husband did. Thereupon he remarked, 'I suppose he is one of those fellows.' No, my husband was not. 'Then, I suppose he was a hacker?' No, not that. My husband was a member of the coast guard, and had been honorably discharged. Then he burst forth with 'I know, he does not know the treacherous nature of your work!'

"I showed him my husband's signature, leading him the rest. The Kentucky Colonel departed without farewell, muttering as he went."

"A City Hall politician—peasant variety—gave me the once over. And then this: 'If my signature would keep them in there for life, I would sign it.'"

"A stout, waddling matron, overdressed and decorated with the insignia of her son's valor, asked me, 'My dear! DO you know WHAT you are doing?' I answered, 'I certainly do! I am in a position to know what I am doing; I know many of these prisoners.' Seeing that I was hopeless, she lingered near, trying to prevent others from signing. A group of three, mother and two sons, one in uniform, paused and one of the boys said as he signed, 'Mother, don't you want to sign this? Stout lady interposed: 'MOTHER! You do not know WHAT you are signing! Mother (indignantly), 'I certainly do—this is the soldiers' bonus!'

"Completely flabbergasted, I explained, whereupon 'Mother' said, 'Oh, well—it is all the same thing. And the war is over.' And passed on—after all three had signed."

"An important appearing business man insisted upon holding one of the petitions while he studied it carefully. When I held out my hand for it he announced he was going to take it to the police. I made no effort to detain him, but watched him approach and hold earnest conversation with the traffic cop.—Crumbled the petition, stuffed it in his pocket and marched—in the opposite direction."

"A very little lady in gray, reminiscent of camellias and lavender and, have, asked me if she might sign. She read the petition very carefully and then asked if she might have one—

she wanted to stand on the opposite corner and help in the work. She said she was not a member of any liberal organization, but was in hearty accord with all liberal thought. I directed her to the headquarters. In forty-five minutes she returned and assisted in securing signatures on one of the busiest corners of Chicago through the afternoon hours. At 6 she went away, leaving her address with a request that she be notified if further help were needed."

"An elegantly dressed member of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Hamilton Club stepped from her limousine at Fields'. Patronizingly: 'What is it, my dear?' I had to explain not only the text of the petition, but the meaning of political prisoners. I told her France had liberated her political within a month after the signing of the armistice, England within a year; that all the Allies had long since freed their wartime prisoners—all but the United States of America."

"Apparently horrified, she said, 'My husband is Senator Blank, a member of the Hamilton Club. I shall speak to him about this tonight. I think it an outrage that America should be so far behind her Allies!'

"One of the inside police in City Hall reached forward and took the petition from my hand, without comment or spoken word between us. 'I have been waiting here for this,' he remarked as he inscribed his name on the petition."

"For five hours I had been standing at State and Washington Streets. I had been treated kindly and gruffly. I had been encouraged and rebuffed by turns. 'My feet ached, my head ached—and oh, my heart ached. But as I glanced through the sheets of signatures I knew that it had been worth while, that scores of men and women had signed that petition, many of whom had never before heard of our political prisoners."

"A masculine voice at my elbow said, 'What is it all about, Madam?' I explained to the tall, grave man who had spoken to me, and he said, 'Why don't they fight their way out

The Efficiency System and the Workers

By L. BORODULIN

III

The third element to which efficiency is beginning to be applied is labor and the workers. In each factory there are, and there always were, two different sides with opposing interests. On the one hand the workers, that is, those who do the work directly by physical or mental effort; and, on the other hand, the owners of industrial enterprises, that is those who produce no work directly, and who, nevertheless, derive profits from production. As said, these interests have always been in conflict with each other. What was good for one side was bad for the other, and vice versa.

The only and exclusive motive that induces any individual, or group, under our modern system of production to open and operate an industrial plant is the prospect of profits to be obtained as the result of the sale of products produced by hired labor. The more work, the more ready products the hired worker yields during a fixed period, the greater are the profits of his employer. Each employer is, therefore, directly interested that his hired worker produce more commodities during a given fixed time, while the workers, on the other hand, are directly interested in doing as little work as possible during that period.

The reason for this is very simple. Each living being possesses a certain amount of energy inherited from his progenitors. The human body needs this energy in order to continue uninterrupted its living processes. The human organism must breathe and the expansion and contraction of the lungs requires a certain amount of energy. Man must eat and the process of eating, which is a purely physical process, means the expenditure of energy. The chemical process of digestion again requires energy. This, however, is not all. The human kind requires not only food, but shelter, clothing and other articles of prime necessity. These commodities can only be obtained through activity and labor, and they all consume parts of the stored-up human energy within our bodies. Again, the human machine must always keep a stock of energy for "a rainy day." In terms of human experience it means the storing up of energy against lack of food, against hunger, against disease, or fighting adverse natural phenomena when one is compelled to spend, at one time, a greater amount of energy than usual. This reserve stock of energy is an absolute necessity for humankind, without which its existence would become at once precarious and insecure.

As a matter of fact, the injudicious draining of this reserve energy always will call forth a protest from the human body in one way or another. It may show itself in the form of fatigue, headaches or other signs which are the silent protests of the body or the signals of warning. Of course labor, in the modern sense, means purely the application of energy for the purpose of obtaining means and commodities of continued living. Every human being as a rule labors voluntarily, and a normal person without work will quickly accumulate a surplus amount of energy which will make him restless and uncomfortable. Rich people, and people who do not have to work for a living in general, seek to spend their energies in such things as travel to distant lands, in hunting, in play and other socially unproductive labor.

Modern industrial conditions, however, are such that a worker in a shop, factory or other industrial enterprise

applies not only the energy with which he was endowed to produce living necessities for himself, but is also compelled to draw daily upon his reserve energy. Workers are compelled to toil to a degree of total physical fatigue. We are not speaking of exceptional cases. On the average, a worker who is occupied intensely for fully eight hours, is quite exhausted at the end of the work-day.

That hired workers apply during the task of producing a required amount of living necessities for themselves and their dependents, not only the energy which is appropriated for that purpose, so to say, but that they exhaust their reserve energy which their bodies seek to store away, is substantiated by the following facts:

1. The very fact that the workers become fatigued at the end of the day, that they look forward to a holiday, that they are constantly fighting for a shorter work-day, is proof patent of this irresistible protest on behalf of the human body against the trespassing of labor upon the stock of stored-away energy which it is eager and jealous to conserve. If this reserve were not touched, the body would be content to work; labor would then, to a large extent, be the hardship. From a biological point of view, this in itself, is the best and strongest proof that we draw from our bodies entirely too much energy in the course of our daily task.

2. The products which are created by the processes of labor continue to exceed the volume of commodities which is necessary for the maintenance of our existence. The greatest amount of products which are created by labor today are not products of necessity and are frequently superfluous and very often even harmful articles. Take, for instance, jewelry, cosmetics, silks, velvet, tobacco, wine, battleships, fortresses, ammunition and other products which are either useless or harmful. It is these products that consume much more energy than products of necessity. The energy which is required to clothe a common peasant woman for a year is insignificant in comparison with the energy that is required to dress a rich lady for the same period. Perhaps there exists somewhere a political, social or economic point of view according to which battleships, fortresses, cannon and munitions are a social or national necessity. From a biological point of view, they are admittedly certainly superfluous. Nevertheless, these articles are being made, and they consume a tremendous amount of energy. The fact is that nature has given us enough energy to create articles of necessity. It, however, did not supply us with energy to create such unnecessary and useless things, and for the production of these things we are compelled to use the energy which our bodies seek to save as a reserve stock.

This, however, is not all. One of the fundamental laws of biology is mutual aid between members of the same species, and, at times (as) between members of different species. On the basis of this law, interpreted in the daily vernacular, we, for instance, demand that the shoemaker make shoes not only for himself, but also for the tailor, the farmer, the baker, the physician and for all other useful members of society, as each of these is ready to do his share of work for the shoemaker. There are, however, in our society a great many members who do not produce, who are useless, and yet they consume the products of other workers. They are

less in number than the useful workers, but they consume, as a matter of fact, the more costly articles, the articles that require the greatest amount of productive energy. It stands to reason that if these products are being consumed by non-productive elements, that the surplus energy required in the production of these articles was wasted in its entirety.

And herein lies the contrast of interests between the workers and their employers. The employers are directly interested to extract as much work as possible during a fixed period of time from their hired workers. The workers, on the other hand, are directly and organically interested to

work as little as possible. It is an instinctive striving of the body to protect the stored-up energy upon which the laborers are compelled to draw constantly under modern conditions in industry.

In this conflict, until now, the upper hand has always been with the employers. They have had the power and the possibility to squeeze more and more work out of their laborers. The employers have continually applied new methods and means for the extraction of greater amounts of work from the worker, until now we have evolved the very latest and scientifically calculated method which is efficiency. We shall discuss it in our next installment.

Labor Rallies to Sacco-Vanzetti Defense

Boston—That the challenge of labor contained in the Sacco-Vanzetti case is at last understood and accepted by the American labor movement was demonstrated effectively by three national conventions of great working class organizations during the last month.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Workmen's Circle have given notice through their delegate gatherings at Cleveland, Ohio, Chicago and Toronto respectively, that the effort of the Massachusetts reactionaries to electrocute Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti despite cumulative proofs of their innocence will be fought bitterly.

Not only did these organizations vote money to the defense at a moment of desperate financial need, but they called upon their constituent locals to do likewise. A thousand dollars was voted by the Amalgamated convention, \$500 by the International and \$100 by the Workmen's Circle. All three adopted eloquent resolutions asserting confidence in eventual victory and promising unstinting aid.

The International resolution, for instance, instructed its new General Executive Board to do all in its power to help, and urged all locals "to extend all moral and financial aid to the movements for securing the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti."

In behalf of the 150,000 workers represented, a message was telegraphed to the prisoners, signed by President Benjamin Schlesinger. After an expression of fervent faith in their innocence, the message continued: "Organized labor in America will not rest until the sinister conspiracy which resulted in your incarceration is exposed and your freedom won."

Both the Cleveland and the Chicago gatherings were addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of the Workers' Defense Union, who has been among the first and most consistent champions, of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Her appearance upon the platform was the signal for dramatic outbursts of sympathy for the condemned workers.

It is expected that other conventions scheduled for the near future, notably that of the Furriers, will likewise take unequivocal action in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

WEST STRONG FOR SACCO-VANZETTI

The Trades and Labor Assembly of Minneapolis has gone on record unanimously as endorsing the work of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in Boston. A motion to that effect was enthusiastically received and adopted immediately.

As an initial step in co-operating in the work of saving Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the assembly elected a local group from among its delegates whose business it will be to help raise funds for defense. The local committee will keep in close touch with the Boston organization.

The following letter, signed by Dan W. Stevens, Secretary of the Trades and Labor Assembly, was sent to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Secretary:

"At the last regular meeting of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly a motion was unanimously adopted endorsing the work of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, and a local committee was appointed to assist in raising funds in this city for their defense.

"We feel that Sacco and Vanzetti are the victims of a frame-up similar in nature to the Mooney-Bilings case and rest assured that the labor movement of Minneapolis will do everything possible to bring about their vindication."

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Attractive proposition to family of moderate means anxious to live in the country; near New York City.

SPOONER, 180 Broadway, New York.

ATTENTION Russian Polish Cloakmakers

The regular meeting of the Russian Polish Branch will take place on Monday, June 5th, at 7:30 p. m. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th Street.

It is the duty of every member of the Branch to be present at this meeting.

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

IMPRESSIONS FROM THE FIRST CONFERENCE

What the Union desires to accomplish for the cloak industry has been made clear by a statement of President Schlesinger appearing elsewhere in this issue of JUSTICE. The manufacturers, however, have failed to make clear at the last conference, through their representatives, what they actually want. It is true, Mr. Jablow, the President of the Protective Association, has let fall a few words concerning the "highest peak" reached by the workers' wages in the cloak industry. He, however, mentioned no word regarding a wage reduction. We are more inclined to infer from this remark that the President of the Protective Association had meant to say that it is not a time for raising wages. He also said a word or two regarding "insufficient productivity." The general impression, nevertheless, remains that the President of the Protective Association did not intend that this charge be taken in full earnest. He also said something about the absolute right of the employers to discharge a worker without having to account for it to anybody; but no one felt that the employers themselves believed that they could ever achieve this.

The fact is that towards the end of the conference, the lawyer of the Association, Mr. William Klein, frankly admitted that the changes and the demands presented by Mr. Jablow were not meant as an official expression of the stand of the Association, but, as we would say, are an echo of that inveterate habit of our employers to talk about "soldiering on the job," the "right to discharge," etc., etc.

Well, then, if it is not a question of reducing wages or changing the work-system and the work hours and other work-conditions, if things are to remain status quo, why then prolong the discussions? Why not proceed at once to the renewal of the old agreement? To be frank, this was the big question every one was asking himself after the first conference came to a close.

There was, however, one demand which the representatives of the Protective Association had put forth in a very clear manner. It was, namely, the demand that all elements having an interest in the cloak industry, such as the American Association—the contractors' body—the so-called "independents," and the Jobbers' Association participate in the conference. The representatives of the Protective were very eager to convert the conference between the Union and their Association into a mixed conference between the Union and all others who are in one manner or another cloak and suit employers.

To this the Union replied very definitely in the negative, and for the following two reasons:

1. We, the Union, have had an agreement with you until now. This agreement expires the first of June. We are coming together now to discuss the terms and the possibilities of the renewal of this agreement. If we can agree, well and good; if not, we shall see what is best for each of us to do. Why, then, drag in outside parties before we have had an opportunity to straighten out our own disputes?

2. The assertion that the interests of the others who are to be invited to this conference are identified with the members of the Protective Association, is not correct. Had it been so, why do they not belong to the Protective Association? The fact that they belong to other associations is clear evidence that the interests of the American Association, for instance, are different from the interests of the Protective Association. How, then, can the Union be expected to conclude one agreement with a number of different factors and different interests in the industry?

In the debate on this question, President Schlesinger struck the nail on the head when he declared that the contractors that are united in the American Association are in truth no more than workers employed by the manufacturers of the Protective. At best they are the middlemen between the big employers and the workers. Under such circumstances, there can be no talk of identity of interest and of one agreement.

It is true that the members of the Protective Association, thanks to a wrong industrial policy pursued for many years, are employing now only from 10 to 15 per cent of the workers in the cloak industry. It is true that because of this fact they cannot speak justly in the name of the entire industry. They know it themselves, they admit it, and they no longer speak about their hegemony over the entire cloak industry.

But it is because of that that the Union must first of all straighten but all disagreements between it and the Association, and only after this is accomplished and questions of general interest to the entire industry are considered that the time will be ripe for a general conference. We cannot say that the Union has, in principle, anything against mixed conferences, but such a conference can take place only after the Protective Association had stated in clear and definite terms that it withdraws all the demands which it had put forth several months ago, and which brought about the big fight in the industry—a fight which has forced the other manufacturers into it against their will, even though they were not a party to the demands that provoked it.

It is our opinion that these arguments have not failed to leave an impression upon the representatives of the Protective Association present at the conference. The fact is that after they had withdrawn from the meeting for a considerable time to talk matters over among themselves they came back with the statement that they still insist on a mixed conference. That was about all that they could say to the arguments of President Schlesinger and Morris Hillquit.

It is, however, an attitude that cannot be maintained very long. An arbitrary, "I want it so," is not much of an argument these days. They will have to advance substantial reasons why the Union should negotiate with them and with the remaining three-quarters of the industry—with which the Union is not at variance at all—at the same time. And once this hitch is out of the way we can proceed to business at once. They will have to say what they want, what they demand from the Union, if they have any demands to make, and we hope that they really have none—and proceed to the big constructive plans which the Union proposes for the entire cloak industry. These plans will require the entire energy of the Union and of the employers, and these plans will leave no room for disputes involving outlived or evaporated issues.

Our impression is that this will be the final result of the conferences, sooner or later. First, because we believe strongly in the ultimate victory of common sense; and, secondly, because it seems to us that the more far-seeing among the employers admit themselves that this is the only way out. Mr. Sol Singer, one of the biggest employers in the cloak industry of New York, has said: "Let us not bicker over words. Let us all help to eradicate the 'social shop' from the industry," and his words have surely not failed to have an effect upon the manufacturers present. "The corporation shop, this is the cancer on our industry," said President Schlesinger, and this agreement by the spokesmen of both sides on this point is surely not a coincidence. It is founded upon the living realities of the cloak industry, and it must guide our course in the future.

We believe, therefore, that we are entitled to be optimistic that the next conferences will bring in more tangible results than the first. It will surely give more clarity of purpose than the first. The least that we expect is that the manufacturers will come out with open talk concerning their plans and their demands, and the least that we are certain of is that the Union will not for a moment concede any demand that might mean the sacrifice of any of the standards our workers have gained in their struggle for a better life.

THE COURTS AND THE UNION

Last week the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York affirmed, by an opinion of 4 to 1, the injunction granted last January by Justice Robert F. Wagner to our International and the Cloakmakers' Union. It was this injunction that was instrumental in compelling the manufacturers to open their shops to the workers under the terms of the old agreement of 1919.

Needless to say that we are very much gratified with the decision of the Appellate Division—not because we have for a moment doubted the justice of our attitude, in maintaining that the manufacturers had broken the agreement. We did not need the approval of the Supreme Court for that. Had a hundred supreme courts ruled to the contrary, it would not have swerved us an inch from our firm conviction that the manufacturers had deliberately broken the agreement with the Union. Of course, the added voice of the Supreme Court strengthens our moral victory. It is a case where a capitalist court had to admit that a labor union was thoroughly in the right, while a manufacturers' association was totally wrong.

Whether this decision of the Appellate Division will bring tangible and appreciable results, we cannot say. Some are of the opinion that the Union has a right now to demand retribution for the wages lost by our workers during the ten weeks' strike of last winter. The decision hints, here and there, that the strikers could demand such damages if they choose, and we do not as yet know as to whether the Union will, or will not, follow this course, and if followed, whether this course will be successful. At any rate, the verdict of the Appellate Division is a source of real gratitude for our membership in particular and for the labor movement of America in general.

The verdict will, perhaps, be a lesson and a warning to our manufacturers that even their power and influence has limits; that a contract can not be broken at will and caprice. They will, in the future, either refuse to sign agreements with the Union and make possible the return of the chaotic conditions of the years that have gone by, the years of daily strikes and stoppages;

The "Memorandum" and Other Questions at the Convention

By S. Y.

Of the many committees appointed by the President, committees that do the work and lend the tone to the convention, the most important one is the Committee on Officers' Report. This committee is charged with the duty of analyzing the entire report of the General Executive Board and of rendering its opinion, or shall we say, verdict, upon it. This committee is selected from delegates who have not been in direct contact with the General Executive Board, as such, in order to insure impartiality of judgment and breadth of vision. At our last convention, where we had a clearly outspoken opposition to the prevailing policy of the administration, this opposition received proportional representation on each of the committees. And the Committee on Officers' Report was no exception to this rule.

As a result of this, all questions of a debatable character had majority and minority reports. It stands to reason that the "Memorandum" question, which created such a stir among two of our biggest locals, Local No. 1 and Local No. 9, and which was so hotly discussed in our press, should become a storm-center at the convention also. It was, indeed, more surprising to the writer of these lines that the debate, insofar as the opposition delegates were concerned, was

rather unimpressive. When it came to a vote, 147 delegates voted for the majority report and only 47 voted against it. Which proves clearly that on this question the opposition not only failed to muster its own strength, but that the majority report, which fully approved the action of the President and the General Executive Board in this problem, has also won on its side a considerable number of the members of the opposition.

Let us examine briefly the substance of the matter.

About thirteen months ago it looked as if a strike was imminent in the cloak industry. The cloak manufacturers, who had broken off the agreement with the Union and made the adjustment machinery non-operative, notified the organization that they demanded the reduction of the wage scales, a change of the work-system, etc., etc. The general feeling in labor circles at that time was rather depressed. The newspapers, when notices of wage cuts, and about that time the Amalgamated, about a long strike, consented to a wage reduction of 15 per cent in New York City. Small wonder that it was generally believed that sooner or later the International would have to concede the demands of the manufacturers.

A series of conferences between

the Protective Association and the International ensued with the result that the Union conceded nothing to the employers. Everything remained as before, but in addition something new was created. It consisted of the following:

The employers have maintained right along the prevailing system of work is a misfortune for the industry and that the workers were idling on the job. President Schlesinger, therefore, proposed that for the next few months, namely, until November first, a temporary joint committee, consisting of an equal number of members of the Union and of the Association, be formed to study the problems of production in the industry and to act at the same time as a committee of adjustment in cases where the discharge of a worker is involved on complaint of non-productivity.

That was the agreement of June 3, 1921, the so-called "Memorandum." When it was signed, it was greeted throughout the labor world as a distinct achievement for the workers, particularly in view of the fact that not a single one of our work-standards was touched or impaired as a result of those negotiations. A couple of weeks later a certain cloak firm, and mind you, not quite a good union firm at that, brought a charge to the joint commission against an operator for non-productivity. The charge was based upon a comparison with the amount of work produced by other workers of the same class in the same shop. The Joint Commission investigated the charge very thoroughly and found that the worker in question was producing a great deal less than the average man in the shop. So in spite of its tardiness to consent to the worker's discharge, the Union members on the commission were compelled to sustain the firm.

Immediately Local No. 1 started a loud clamor. "If one worker can be discharged, why not dozens and hundreds and thousands?" The "Memorandum" was a trick played upon the gullible Union and will lead to the sweat shop and eventually will destroy the week-work system. Others argued that the "Memorandum" aimed at the introduction of "standards of production," through a back-door, so to say. Local No. 1 called a big meeting at Cooper Union at which war was declared against this "Memorandum," which only a few months ago was proclaimed as an important victory for our organization.

The tumult grew and became more aggravating as some newspapers who are always ready to stab our International in the back, took a hand in the situation. No arguments would avail anything. In vain, President Schlesinger at meetings stated time and again that in order to have a right to dis-

charge for non-productivity, the consent of the entire Joint Commission must be had and that the Union has an equal voice on that Commission. The argument that the average worker is duty bound to yield a certain amount of work, alike with the other workers in a given shop, and that the Joint Commission could not, by the farthest stretch of the imagination be interpreted as a means leading to the "standards of production"—fell on deaf ears. The obdurate ones and those who chose to be such, clung to their notion that the "Memorandum" meant the destruction of all our work-standards. Needless to say that the President, as well as the entire General Executive Board have felt very much grieved over this "criticism." And this not so much for the past, or the present, as for the future. How can it be otherwise, indeed? If such thoroughly workable proposition as the Joint Commission is to be rejected, what other form of an agency that could decide on such matters as the discharge for non-productivity can be evolved? Are we to presume that the workers in our industry could be granted the right to be the sole judges of how much they are to produce for the wages they receive under the present system?

It is because of the potential mischief arising from this criticism of the "Memorandum" that it was so important and of such interest to our International and its leadership. If the convention, for instance, would have adopted the minority report—against the "Memorandum," the President would have had to resign, not only because it would have meant the repudiation of the best piece of work he had done in the last two years, but because it would influence the future fate of our International and would have laid almost insurmountable obstacles in its way. The situation cleared only after the convention, with a majority of almost four to one, decided in favor of the majority report, which reads as follows:

"The second great feature in our campaign with our manufacturers, is the historic Supplementary Agreement, entered into between the Protective Association and our Union, on June 3, 1921. This kind of agreement was an attempt—perhaps for the first time in the history of Collective Agreement—to establish a workable instrument for the amicable adjustment of complaints arising between employers and workers. To our regret, however, we must admit that some of our people did not understand it, and were carried away by a wrong interpretation placed upon it by individuals who never took the pains to make a study of conditions in our Union, but, nevertheless, took it upon themselves to criticize and bring turmoil in our ranks."

There were a few more resolutions of great importance at the Convention that we would like to discuss in these columns. We shall take them up in our next and final installment.

or they will maintain the practice of entering into agreements with the Union, but not with the hind thought of breaking them whenever it suits them, or whenever they see fit.

As regards the practice of injunctions in general, we have had the occasion of stating the Union's opinion of its usefulness as a permanent weapon in the struggle between capital and labor. The Union is aware of the fact that such a miracle as a court victory for the workers happens but once in a lifetime, and to expect it to happen every once in a while would be to blind ourselves to the realities of life. Gompers' motto, "God save the workers from the courts," is essentially right. From his long experience he knows what workers may expect from the courts. And our International is of the same belief, regardless of the fact that we have benefited one time from the turning of the injunction weapon against our employers.

That there might not remain any misunderstanding concerning the attitude of the Union, let us quote that paragraph from the report of the General Executive Board to the Cleveland Convention, in which the stand of our organization towards injunctions is made clear:

"Much as we are gratified by our legal victory in this case, we have by no means been converted to the opinion that court injunctions are the proper method of adjusting industrial disputes. While such injunctions are issued by the score against labor unions and are growing ever more sweeping in their scope and drastic in their provisions, it is an act of just retribution and poetic justice to hurl one of such missiles against its inventors. But organized labor will not become reconciled to the use of injunctions in labor disputes because it may occasionally serve their own ends. When an employers' association is restrained from holding meetings in furtherance of a conspiracy to induce a breach of agreements with workers, the members of the association comparatively small in number can find hundreds of ways of circumventing the prohibition, but when large masses of strikers are enjoined from meeting and orderly picketing, it is a death threat to their struggle. When an employers' association is restrained from expending its funds in aid of a conspiracy, its members can still continue the fight with their own resources, but when a union is prohibited from paying strike benefits, even temporarily, the workers are in many cases literally starved into submission."

This is the sum and substance of our attitude towards injunctions. It is clear and permits no misinterpretation. The "New York Times" is badly in error when in its editorial of last week, touching upon the decision of the Appellate Division, it states that "labor leans on the courts." We accept this compliment gladly, and we believe that we have honestly earned it when the "Times" says that "we belong to the small, though ever-increasing number of unions which endeavor gradually and intelligently to build up a permanent system of wage regulations and all other work conditions through the aid of the Union." Yes, this is a fair and true characteristic of our Union, but we have acquired it just because we have had little faith and confidence in the courts.

Readers of "Justice"

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If you have moved, or intend to move, notify this office of your new address, otherwise you will not receive your paper.

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Local Ledger No.

3 West 16th Street JUSTICE New York City

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

(Minutes of Meeting, May 24, 1922)

Brother Berlin in Chair

Upon opening the meeting, Mr. B. Zuckerman, Manager of the Jewish People's Relief Committee, appeared before the Board. In a brief but impressive talk, he requested, First, that we go on record endorsing the \$1,000,000 Tool Drive; Second, that we pass a resolution urging our members to contribute tools for the workers of Soviet-Russia; and Third, that we appoint a committee of five to the Jewish Relief Committee, in order to assist them in making the "Tag Day" a success, it being understood that the committee which the Joint Board will appoint, will be assigned to a certain district.

Upon motion, made by Brother Rabinowitz, the request of the Jewish People's Relief Committee was granted, and Delegates Berlin, Buchman, Bernstein, Gusman and Weinberg of Local No. 22 were appointed on the Committee.

A correction was made in last week's minutes to the effect that the convention only passed upon the matter of Local No. 50 joining the Joint Board.

The recommendations of the Board of Directors of May 19th in substance are as follows:

First, That the office, with the advice of Mr. Rothenberg, our attorney, should do everything possible in order to combat the application made by the C. & G. Dress Co. for an injunction against the Union.

Second, That the matter of the requests of the committees from the New York Dress Company, the Fashion Bilt Co. and Louis Rentner was acted upon. These firms, informed our Manager, time and again, that unless something is done, and that quickly, they will be compelled to give up manufacturing. These firms are among the largest in the trade.

After carefully considering the state of affairs in above said shops, the Board authorized the office to make any arrangements in these shops, that they may deem advisable.

Third, A Committee of workers from the shop of Dickes & Block appeared before the Board stating that the owners of the shop of Dickes & Block have another shop by the name of the Marcel Mfg. Co. Both of these shops work for two different jobs. The shop of Dickes & Block works for Louis Rentner, while the Marcel Mfg. Co. is working for the Kane Co. Recently, Louis Rentner discontinued giving work to Dickes & Block, therefore this firm is ready to give up the shop of Dickes & Block.

The Committee therefore requested the Board to urge the firm, that all the workers now employed at Dickes & Block should be placed at work in the shop known as the Marcel Mfg. Co.

Brothers Halperin and Hochman informed the Board that the firms of Louis Rentner, New York Dress and Fashion Bilt informed them several times, that the prices they are paying their workers are higher than the average shop pays, and as they are forced to meet competition, it is, therefore, impossible for them to go on with their business, unless the Union will co-operate with them to have more efficiency in their shops.

As for the shop of Dickes & Block, Brother Hochman informed the

Board, that the workers in this shop were receiving good wages, and on many occasions they did not act as Union people should. A number of complaints were made to the office that the workers in this shop insisted that the firm should not engage new workers, and when some had already been engaged, they were sent away by the firm before they worked two weeks in the shop, upon the request of the workers. However, Brother Hochman recommended that the Board do everything possible to help the workers of Dickes & Block, in order that they do not lose their positions.

In reference to installing the next Joint Board delegates, Brother Berlin showed that this delay was due to very well known reasons. Brother Antonin insisted that as an organization, we should abide by our Constitution, and he therefore protested against the delay of convening the new Joint Board.

A discussion arose, and it was brought out, that during the month of June, Locals No. 22, 25, 50 and 66 will have local elections.

Therefore, upon motion, it was decided that installation of the new Joint Board should take place the first meeting in July, it being understood that the locals concerned will take note of above decision.

Local No. 89, in communication, approved the minutes of the Joint Board of April 26th, adding, however, that they have taken note of the fact that their protest with regards to the payment of salaries by the Joint Board to officers elected as delegates to the Convention was placed on file, and they wish to state again that they insist on this point and shall duly deduct the amount from the total of April's bill.

Upon motion, it was decided to await the action of the locals affiliated with the Joint Board in this matter.

A communication was received from the New Yorker Volkszeitung, asking us to insert an ad in their anniversary number.

Upon motion, it was decided to refer this request to the Finance Committee.

A communication was received from the West Virginia Miners' Relief Committee, in which they ask for financial aid for the striking miners of West Virginia.

Upon motion, it was referred to the Finance Committee.

Brother Berlin reported on behalf of the Efficiency Committee; that at a meeting of this Committee, a sub-committee was appointed, and certain plans for the Joint Board are under consideration. In view of the fact that the Committee is not ready to make its report of all its plans, therefore, they asked the delegates to be patient until the next meeting of the Joint Board, when the Committee will have its report of recommendations ready.

Fighting Children and Women

By CHARLES M. KELLEY

(A Letter from Washington)

Congress is without power to end the evil of child labor.

When it attempted to do so through the passage of the federal child labor law, "the ark of our covenant," the constitution of the United States, was seriously endangered.

That, in a nutshell, is the decision of the Supreme Court handed down last Monday by Chief Justice William Howard Taft.

In 1916 Congress passed a bill forbidding the transportation of the products of child labor in interstate commerce. Two years later this act was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, by a 5 to 4 decision. The majority opinion was prepared by Chief Justice White, a reactionary Democrat from Louisiana. He held that Congress could not do indirectly what it was not authorized to do directly. The child labor bill professed to be an act to regulate interstate commerce, but the court held that the real object was to forbid the employment of children in mills and mines and canneries.

Mills Attack Legislation

Then Congress passed a bill placing a prohibitive tax on the products of child labor. The great Atherton cotton mills of North Carolina and the Dress' Furniture Company attacked the constitutionality of this legislation.

Chief Justice Taft, a reactionary Republican from Ohio, rendered the opinion of the court. He held "a court must be blind not to see that the so-called tax is imposed to stop the employment of children within the age limits prescribed." Therefore, he held the act to be unconstitutional.

Some years ago Congress passed a law taxing notes issued by state banks. The object of that law was not to raise revenue for the government, but to compel state banks to stop issuing currency in competition with the national banks. The members of the Supreme Court of that day were not blind, and they understood the real object of the law. Nevertheless, they sustained it as a legitimate exercise of Congress' taxing power, and our "ark of the covenant" sustained the shock. In a number of other instances the courts have sustained similar laws.

Can't Help Human Beings

Congress also passed a law prohibiting the transportation of lottery tickets in interstate commerce. The object of that law was not to regulate interstate commerce, but to suppress a lottery in Louisiana. The Supreme Court, however, sustained the legality of that law.

APPARENTLY CONGRESS CAN DO PRETTY MUCH WHAT IT SEES FIT IN THE MATTER OF REGULATING INTERSTATE COMMERCE AND IMPOSING TAXES SO LONG AS IT DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO USE THOSE POWERFUL WEAPONS IN DEFENSE OF

HUMAN BEINGS; OR TO PUT AN END TO GAMBLING ON THE STOCK EXCHANGE OF LIFE.

Both child labor laws which were thrown out by the Supreme Court undertook to set up the following standards:

No child under 16 years of age could be employed in a mine or quarry.

No child under 14 could be employed in a factory, mill, or cannery.

No child under 16 could be employed at night, or could be worked more than eight hours a day or six days a week.

These are regarded as the minimum requirements of a decent child labor law.

Employers Fighting Women.

Women's organizations that advocate better social and health conditions for workmen and women need not look to members of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association for contributions.

That is made plain in a letter addressed to members urging them to withhold donations to the Ohio Council of Women and Children in Industry, the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency, the Young Woman's Christian Association, the National Consumers' League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Vocational Bureau of Cincinnati, the Ohio State University, the Urban League of Columbus, the Ohio Council for Family Social Work, the Cleveland Welfare Federation, the Columbus Temple Sisterhood, the Woman's Trade Union League, and the Industrial Health Conservancy Laboratories.

All of these organizations have been blacklisted because they have had the temerity to advocate minimum wage and maximum working hours laws before the Ohio Legislature.

This boycott follows similar action taken by the Better America Federation in California in 1920, the Pittsburgh Employers' Association in 1921, and other similar employers' organizations against the Young Women's Christian Association following its adoption two years ago in Cleveland of the social and industrial prisma known as the social ideals of the churches.

Boycotts Fall Short of Mark

All of these boycotts have, according to Mrs. Robert E. Speer, President of the national body, dropped short of the mark. "Contrary to a widespread impression," said Mrs. Speer at the biennial convention of the association last month, "a careful study shows that the stand taken on the social ideals of the churches did not bring financial losses."

Many manufacturers rebelled at the calloused materialism of their organizations, and many people of modest means were awakened by the effort to destroy the organizations because they sought to improve somewhat the condition of the unfortunate members of society, Mrs. Speer declared.

Members of the I. L. G. W. U. who wish to join the Unity Centers where English for beginners, elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school English, History of the Labor Movement, Applied Economics and Physical Training are taught can register at the offices of their Local Unions, or at the office of the Educational Department, Fourth Floor, 3 West 16th Street.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

UNIONISTS UNITE CHILD LABOR FOES

Representatives of a score of national organizations will meet on June 1 in the A. F. of L. building to join hands in a campaign to secure adoption of a constitutional amendment to stop child labor. The organizations include church, child welfare, women and educational.

President Gompers has issued the invitation on authority of the A. F. of L. executive committee, which authorized him to have prepared a constitutional amendment and a model state law.

The conference will be the beginning to abolish child labor. Wednesday of the first week of the coming A. F. of L. convention will be devoted to this question. On that day addresses will be delivered by a dozen leading opponents of child labor.

"POSSIBLE DANGER" IN SICK-HOME WORK

The children's bureau reports "a possible danger to the health of the community" because large numbers of families in Rhode Island do home work while other members of the family are ill with infectious diseases.

"In some cases the sick persons took part in the work," it is stated. "The testimony of manufacturers using the home-work system indicates that industrial home work in this district could be abolished with but few business losses."

The report says that none of the labor laws of the state applied, at the time of the investigation, to work done at home. It was found that at least 5,000 children under 16 years of age had done home work in the course of a year; that over 7 per cent of all the children 5 to 15 years of age, inclusive, in the three cities, had been engaged in such work during that period, and that 3.5 per cent had worked for 30 days or more. Of these 2,338 children who had worked at least one month out of the year and had received compensation, 4 per cent were under 6 years of age and 46 per cent were under the age of 11.

Four-fifths of the 956 children who reported earnings could not make, at the rates paid, so much as 10 cents an hour working at top speed; half could not make 5 cents.

FRIENDLY RAIL OFFICIAL

L. W. Baldwin, Vice-President of the Illinois Central Railroad, in a friendly sort of an individual. In an address in this city he discussed lower freight rates and said, "We must take the public into our confidence and then what we are going to conserve in an effort to reduce rates."

And to show that he is willing to be chummy with the public, Mr. Baldwin whippers that wage reductions is the very first thing needed.

It is expected that this unexamined confidence of the railroad official will cause the public to forget all about high salaries, dividends on watered stock and buying supplies from concerns that are interlocked with railroads through the same set of directors.

WILL FIGHT WAGE RAISE

Officials of the associated industries of Kansas announce that they will resist the recent wage order of the state industrial court which raised rates for women 50 cents and \$1 a week. The law was splendid when used to jail workers, but when used to raise wages, liberty is jeopardized.

BROKERS SPENT VAST SUMS

Wall street lambs who invested their money with the defunct firm of E. D. Dier & Co., stock brokers, were privileged to see where some of their money went, when the concern's books were opened.

The cost of lunches last year was \$35,000. Stamps were alleged to have cost \$38,000; advertising, \$71,000; leased telegraph wires, \$94,000; stationery, \$48,000, and traveling expenses and entertainments, \$11,000. These charges were listed as "petty expenses."

Some of the major items were: Administrative expenses, \$700,000; general administration expenses, \$115,000; salaries, \$485,000. The latter does not include \$310,000 in cash withdrawn by members of the firm during the year.

NEW YORK WAGES LESS

The average weekly earnings of New York state factory workers declined 42 cents from March to April, according to the state department of labor. The April average was \$24.15, a reduction of 8 per cent in comparison with April of last year. This statement is based on reports received from 1,648 representative manufacturers of this state.

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish Says there is always room at the top. It all depends on character and working overtime while the Boss is looking.



FOREIGN ITEMS

IRELAND

IRISH LABOR ON CIVIL WAR

In the "Voice of Labour," Ireland's Labor paper, it is considered that a civil war would probably lead to the armed dictatorship of a Tory-capitalist-landed ascendancy, and ensure Orange dominance in the Six Counties. Padraic Gaffney, in opening his election campaign in the Carlow-Kilkenny district, says he stands for a Workers' Republic not for a Republic like France or the United States, or for a capitalist Free State. At Carrick-on-Suir (Tipperary) a large meeting of workers, held on May 8, demanded an end of militarism, a free General Election and a Government elected by a majority of the people.

ENGLAND

CLYNES ON THE LOCK-OUT

Speaking at a Labor May Day demonstration, J. R. Clynes, M. P., declared that the weapons employed by both sides in the lock-out dispute were not equal. "If we could put the employers in want of daily bread," he added, "if we could use against them the instrument of starvation, then the quarrel could be termed an even struggle." He went on to show that the choice of this moment of trade depression for the lock-out showed that the employers were trying to force the submission of the men because the state of the trade put all the advantages in their hands and left the men in a difficult position.

RUSSIA

STATE-RUN OIL FIELDS

In an interview given to the Paris "Matin," Krassin stated that the Soviet Government has no intention of giving any one country the monopoly of its oil fields. Perhaps a quarter of the whole will be left for the continuance of the Soviet Government's own experiments in working the wells, while the remainder may be divided into zones, in each of which different foreign interests will be created. By the centralization of machinery, equipment, and technical control, it is hoped that the wealth of the country will be developed as never before.

EGYPT

Egyptian women, at a special session here, have decided against support of the present Ministry, which, they declare, uses its authority to suppress its political adversaries' meetings. They protest vigorously against the framing of the Constitution by a Committee, instead of a Constituent Assembly, and finally, declare their determination to continue the boycott of British goods until Zaghal Pasha is repatriated and Egypt's national demands are satisfied.

AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALIAN MINERS RESISTING WAGE CUTS

Business in this commonwealth is demanding cheaper coal and coal owners are seeking to force a 3-shilling reduction on their employees.

"It is not the intention of the coal barons to suffer one penny's loss of profits," says the Australian Worker. "They propose that the whole of the reduction shall be taken from the pay-envelopes of the miners."

"The miners say, and rightly so, that they do not intend to allow the coal barons to penalize them. They demand that if any reduction is made it shall be at the expense of the huge profits, revealed and unrevealed, now being made by the coal barons."

GREECE

FORMS NEW GREEK CABINET

A new Cabinet has been formed under Nicholas Stratos to succeed that headed by M. Gounaris, which resigned last Friday.

M. Stratos was one of the organizers in 1916 of the anti-Venizelos war party. He was Minister of Marine under Premier Gounaris in 1915 and before that had served as Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of M. Rallis.

GERMANY

RIOT AT MUNICH LECTURE

Munich enjoyed a riotous demonstration when Germany's high priest of Theosophy, Rudolf Steiner, delivered a lecture on "Vitalization of Thought," before an audience more than half composed of women. Organized reactionaries, Nationalists and anti-Semites attended the lecture in force, and toward the end the electric lights were switched off and pandemonium broke loose. Lighted firecrackers and stink bombs were thrown at the long-haired Theosophist, and then Steiner's foes stormed the stage, and a free fight ensued until the police cleared the hall.

Then the demonstrators marched to Railroad Station Square with the intention of hauling down the Republican colors. But these are now taken in at dark and secreted in safe places. The chagrined demonstrators therefore contented themselves with singing the imperialistic "Flag Song" around the flagless flagpoles.

IRELAND

URGE BOYCOTT OF SOUTH

A new anti-boycott movement has been launched in Belfast by a body, styled the "Ulster Trades Defense Association." The organization has issued a manifesto complaining that the provisional government in Ireland has failed to deal with "the wanton destruction and looting of Ulster goods" entering Southern Ireland. After reciting constant alleged acts of hostility toward Ulster, the manifesto says:

"Are we to stand with folded arms and make no attempt to defend our interests? The South is determined to ruin our trade. Show it you also can play that game. Refuse to buy Southern goods as the South refuses to buy ours."

Educational Comment and Notes

"The Nation" and Our International

In its last issue, "The Nation" published an interesting editorial on the service performed by the workers in needle trades on behalf of labor in the United States. Among other things, the writer of the editorial discusses the Cleveland Convention of the International and expresses his approval of the work performed there.

It is interesting to observe that while speaking of what our International has done for labor, it pays the highest tribute to the educational activities and the social vision of our organization.

"The Nation," evidently understands that it is not sufficient for a labor organization to think merely of today. It is true that the problem of satisfying the present day needs of workers is of tremendous importance and that a union must solve it,

but it must also be remembered that we are building not merely for today. We are also building for the future. We are building for the coming generations. We shall pass away soon, but our children and our grandchildren will take our place, and ours is the responsibility of providing a better and finer world for them to live in.

The Union which truly cares for the needs of its members, is one that possesses social vision, a tremendous desire to help the men and women who will come after us. "The Nation" is right when it points out the pre-eminent importance of our educational activities and the social vision of our International. Future history will record these as among the finest contributions made by the men and women who constitute our rank and file.

The Passing of the Loyalty Hysteria

To the students of current history nothing is more interesting than the attitude of the New York newspapers and the public in general, towards the attempt made by the Advisory Council headed by that eminent patriot and scholar, Archibald Stevenson, to weed out from our public school system those who are "disloyal and seditious."

If this Committee had started its activities a year or two ago, there is no doubt that they would have met with popular approval. But last week, even the New York Times published an editorial asking for its abolition!

Those who understand social psy-

chology realize that the unanimous opposition to the activities of the Lusk Advisory Council is a symptom of the returning sanity of the American people. There is an ingrained love of freedom of expression in most of us. This is frequently obscured or suppressed by such conditions as those for the human race, when these conditions pass away, the natural impulse rises again to the surface and dominates the situation.

We congratulate the people of the State of New York and the people of America. May this re-awakening continue and persist. May the true American spirit of freedom prevail without let or hindrance.

Milwaukee Labor College

Our members will be gratified to learn that other labor institutions have been helped by the experience which we acquired in our educational activities.

Recently a labor college was organized in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and we received a request from them for our outlines. After sending these, we received the following reply:

"Permit me to thank you a thousand and more times for the splendid set of outlines which you sent me a few days ago. They are complete, thorough and will be of great value in our Milwaukee work for next fall. This winter Milwaukee Federated

Trades Council had its first experience with a Labor College. The Council contributed \$100 and the balance of the expenses were paid from a school registration fee of \$2.50 (which most unions paid) and contributions from unions. We paid teachers \$5 and \$10. More details can be obtained from manuscript submitted by the secretary at the Workers' Educational Bureau convention.

"Again permit me to thank you for your genuine fellowship in supplying me with those valuable outlines.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) ALLEN B. FORSBERG,
Professor of Economics.

INQUIRY FROM ITALY

The Educational Department received recently an interesting letter from Professor Giovanni Pallastrelli of Rome, Italy. Professor Pallastrelli is compiling a publication on Welfare Work for Workers and has requested us for full information as to the work done by our Union in our educational activities.

It is gratifying to note that the interest in the advancement of Workers' Education in America has spread to Italy.

GRAND OUTING FOR UNION HEALTH CENTER CLASS

Everybody ready for a jolly good time, June 4 (Sunday), when we take our excursion trip up the Hudson to Bear Mountain! All the members of the Union Health Center Study Class and Health Nights are ready for the first outing of the year.

Friends of the Health Center are cordially invited to join us. Tickets, round trip, \$1.

Meeting, Sunday, June 4, at 8:30 A. M., at Battery Park, Pier "A." Bring your own lunches and prepare for a good time.

Prof. Egbert of Columbia and Labor Education

A few days ago the New York press published a long statement in which Professor Egbert, Director of the Extension Department of Columbia University, expresses his views on Labor Education and Workers' Colleges.

Professor Egbert seems to feel that Workers' Colleges, as developing at present under workers' control, are unnecessary and inefficient. He feels that the workers' needs for education can be satisfied best by universities which have the proper equipment and facilities, and who can furnish experts to give the necessary instruction. He points to various organizations, such as the Bankers' Association, who co-operate with the universities in organizing educational activities for their employees.

From one point of view, Professor Egbert is perfectly right. Our universities certainly are well equipped. They have comfortable class rooms, scientific apparatus, provision for experimental work, and finally, experienced and well trained instructors. Professor Egbert is certainly right when he claims that with these facilities, it is uneconomical for labor unions to duplicate the work of the universities, and that workers can obtain whatever information they want without the expenditure of their hard earned money.

There is one point, however, which entirely escapes Professor Egbert. He does not realize that labor unions have a distinct function, which no other institution in the world can assume. No one in present society can protect the interests of workers so well, so thoroughly and wholeheartedly, as the workers themselves through their organizations. This applies to their educational interests with equal truth. They cannot be furthered by any organization, excepting that controlled by workers themselves.

University professors are controlled and supervised by university authorities, who are in practically all cases controlled and supervised by trustees, whose economic interests are diametrically opposed to those of workers. The university profes-

sors cannot and will not give workers information which might be utilized by them to weaken the power of these trustees. Of course, there are exceptions. There are honest and sincere men and women, who teach the truth at the risk of losing their position. These deserve our deepest admiration, but they are few and far between. Perhaps some day when they will be the rule instead of the exception, co-operation between workers and universities may be less of an incongruity than it is today.

Again, labor education is not aimed to satisfy interests of individuals apart from the interests of the workers as a class. Workers who have personal ambitions for culture, information, and what not, can gratify these wherever they wish. The Labor Colleges do not seek to perform that work. Their function is to teach what will ultimately benefit the whole working class.

Another important point may be added. There was a time not long ago, when a worker could not find an outlet for self-expression in the labor movement. Men and women with potentialities and capacities, could develop these only when they left the shop or mill, and entered another sphere. Things are different today. The labor movement offers a wealth of opportunities for development and service to those who have ability. A worker, who has the necessary mental make-up and who follows this up with intensive study along the lines of workers' education, can grow and serve in many ways, and can help to bring happiness not only to himself but also to his fellow workers.

We appreciate Professor Egbert's spirit. We realize that his offer of co-operation is genuine and sincere. But we have learned our lesson and shall not forget it. God helps those who help themselves. History tells us that in the past no one helped labor as much as labor itself. To ignore these truths is suicidal. The workers of the world will gain freedom, joy and happiness only through their own efforts. Education is one of the means by which this will be accomplished. They must control it, develop it and build it up for themselves and by themselves.

"The Jungle" on the Screen

"The Jungle," that true and terrible portrayal of labor's fate in the Chicago stockyards, has been made into a picture, so that even those who cannot read, may at least see labor's struggle unfolded on the screen.

The picture was made under the expert direction of Augustus Thomas, dean of American dramatists and director of note; yet, at the same time, it is pre-eminently a labor picture. But it should not be thought that the film is a sermon of a moral. It is a story—a labor story; to be exact—and its dramatic action is as swift and clear as the best drama should be; the interest is sustained throughout and the climax is reached with crushing effect.

The scenes were taken in the immense stockyards of Chicago and are true and forceful in every detail. The most remarkable thing about "The Jungle," as well as about the results of other investigations Mr. Sinclair has conducted into phases of American civilization is that the truth is stranger than fiction.

Should success attend this second run of "The Jungle" it will continue to be shown in other working-class districts and will then be booked throughout the United States, in every city and town where labor can rent a theatre, either for a day or weeks. But to that end, labor in New York City must prove that there is a demand for labor pictures, for the expression of such a demand will lead to the production of other films of a like character.

STUDENTS OF UNITY CENTERS AND WORKERS' UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE CHANGED RESIDENCE ARE REQUESTED TO SEND NEW ADDRESSES TO OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

Patronize Our Advertisers

Housing for Women Workers

By J. CHARLES LAUE

The boom in building construction in New York, as well as other large cities, has been checked by the curtailment of further loans to the contractors and builders by the financial institutions. This was due to the economic fact that, owing to the competition for labor and material, prices were soaring and the financiers who had invested the funds of savings banks, insurance companies and trust companies into house construction became alarmed at the prospect. So, artificially, they hope to bring labor wages back to the cost upon which they figured their profits, and also to curb the supply dealer.

The effect of this, however, will be to check house construction, the experts declaring that too many houses have already been built. A survey shows, however, that there is still a great scarcity of cheap flats in working class sections, and hardly enough two and three-room apartments.

The working woman who lives away from her family or who has no choice in the matter, and must live in a furnished room, will continue to have to pay the high room rents for at least another year. A recent compilation of the housing statistics for employed women in the borough of Manhattan by the Bureau of Social Hygiene, casts some interesting light on this subject.

In this bulletin the co-operative efforts to meet the situation are also reviewed. Among these are the co-operative house of a group of wait and dressmakers at Lexington Avenue and 29th Street, the Finnish Women's Co-operative Home at 541 Lenox Avenue, the Beekman Hill Co-operative houses managed by The Co-operative League of America, at 343 to 349 East 50th Street, and various community clubs and socialized boarding-houses, run by philanthropic institutions for working girls are enumerated.

Outside of the strictly working class organizations, considerable energy and brains is being devoted to the pressing problem of finding suitable accommodations for the working women. To discover how pressing this problem is was the object of the survey of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, of which Dr. Katherine B. Davis is general secretary and Dr. Hester Donaldson Jenkins, assistant director, with an advisory committee consisting of Mrs. August Belmont, Mrs. William H. Hays, Miss Nellie Swarts and several other prominent women. They began with the census figures.

The 1920 compilation just completed shows that of the 1,135,246 women gainfully employed in New York State, 679, 61 per cent, or a total of 691,729, were found in Greater New York. About one-third of this number were engaged in mechanical or factory work, one-quarter in clerical work, and another quarter in domestic service. The remaining 20 per cent were scattered among professions and callings of minor importance.

The Bureau of Social Hygiene found that not only women employed in stores, offices and factories, were having difficulty in obtaining rooms within their means, but that also the business and professional women

were handicapped by the lack of suitable room accommodations.

The summary of the investigation was the following:

That notwithstanding admirable intention, subsidized homes along philanthropic lines were economically ununsound.

That room registries are necessary to obtain clean, comfortable and safe quarters for women living alone.

That the great majority of employed women desire a home of their own.

That the solution of the problem lies in providing one or two room suites, with bath and tiny kitchenette in newly-constructed or renovated houses rented at prices that can be met by working women and still net 5 per cent on the investment.

Particularly interesting to members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which has done such remarkable work in organizing women in the needle industry, is the section in the Bureau's statistical summary showing what percentage of their earnings working women are now paying for room rent.

Office workers are paid an average of \$19 a week in offices and factories and \$17 in stores. Manual workers earn an average of \$23 in stores and \$15 in factories. Of the total number that filled out the questionnaires, 2,523 office workers, 680 saleswomen, 364 manual workers and 85 domestic servants only 155 lived with their families and apparently contributed nothing directly for their lodging. The others paid from \$2 a week to \$38 a week for their rooms, the highest figure being paid by an exceptionally well paid sales manager. The average room rent per week for this group was \$10, the manual workers paying an average of \$9.48, about 50 cents more than office workers and \$2 a week more than domestic servants.

The conclusion reached by the Bureau is that working women in New York are forced to pay excessive room rents. If the allotment of 25 per cent of the weekly budget for room rent made by the Bureau of Municipal Research is accepted, then, according to this recent survey, only 10 per cent of the women employed in stores, offices and factories in the city of New York approximate this figure, 52 per cent of them pay from a quarter to a half of their earnings for room rent and 38 per cent pay over half of their weekly salaries for their lodging.

The average rent was \$10 out of an average wage of \$19. The conclusion is almost unbelievable that out of the remaining 59 the average working girl fed, clothed herself and paid for her amusements. What could have been put aside for an emergency, for sickness, for a period of unemployment? Judging by these figures, practically nothing.

What stronger argument could there be for more trade unionism among the workers, principally among the exploited clerks and stenographers? What a commentary upon the unjust wages paid to women workers?

What, Then, of the Artist?

"The World Tomorrow" of June prints a remarkable interview with George Grey Barnard, America's foremost sculptor, on the question, What will become of art in the world of tomorrow—in a worker's world? Will art persist without the support of individual saint-patrons of capital, or will it flourish in a world freed from the domination of God Gold?

The interview presents a hopeful prophecy for greater and freer development of art after the masses of the people have begun to realize the innate craving for beauty and self-expression. We are sure our readers will find Mr. Barnard's statement extremely interesting.—Editor.)

"Art is older than history. Before the race had learned to write we were aware of beauty and mystery and the man who saw deeper than his fellows was trying to interpret his vision to others. He was catching some bit of the eternal harmony; his spirit found expression for the beauty it reflected from the world he saw.

"You remember the drawings on the tomb of a mammoth which are now in the British Museum. That prehistoric hand had moved in absolute rhythm and had drawn lines of an exquisite harmony as beautiful as the lines of a Titian. From a later age, when the bison and the buffalo were ranging the plains of France, come the drawings of the cave men. Of the spiritual life of this age we have no other record, but these lights and shades and masses reveal that the soul of the cave man saw beauty. Barbarian peoples all have had their sculpture; their idols and images have come down to us. And in the early civilizations, too, such as the Chaldean and the Egyptian, the gods were made visible to the people by the art of the sculptor.

"This quest for beauty and the expression of truth is a living thing. It was begun in the dawn of the race. It will be with us forever. It cannot pass, with a mere shift in the control of wealth. In fact, I believe that we shall enter shortly a great period of artistic creation, greater perhaps than we have seen for centuries.

"Oh, yes, it is true that since the beginning of history the artist has been dependent on the man of power and wealth for his support. In the Egyptian world he was practically enslaved by the Church and the state. The Parthenon was done as a political job—but Pericles picked the artist with a nicer discrimination than is possessed by our American mayors. Today hundreds of potential artists are lost because they do not find patrons to take them up. This domination of art by wealthy and prominent individuals has been on the whole a hindrance to its finest development. I will not admit that it is permanently necessary.

"I do not mean that artists would find intimate support from other groups in the community. It is true, for example, that the working class in America is not interested in art, although I do believe that the craving for beauty is universal. But how should workmen and women find satisfaction in an art that is absolutely alien to their experience and their aspirations? Once we create, on the other hand, an art which expresses the life of the poor, interpreting the epic quality in their work, visualizing their struggles and their

hope, I believe the people will respect and love it. One day when my 'Hewer' was in Copple Square I went out from the hotel and stood in the crowd that was always around it. A big brewery truck came along with two broad-shouldered, leather-aproned workers on it. They stopped and one of the men edged his way in through the crowd to get a better view of the statue. He looked at it long and earnestly and then he said to any one who might happen to hear: 'Well, say, when I got one of them big kigs to lift that's just the way I feel under my skin.'

"Instead of the remote gods of our imagining which the artists of past ages have made visible to men, our gods today which call us to interpret truth and beauty to the world are the ideals of democracy and humanity. This is the living mystery which we must make visible to the race. And if in the meantime we depend on surplus wealth for our support we are in the grotesque position of saying to our patrons, 'You ought not to have a surplus to buy my works of art in order that I may teach you that you ought not to have a surplus.'

"Practically I see a very definite plan for helping student artists to know better the world of labor and for enabling far more students to continue in the field of art than has ever been possible when they must depend on the wealthy patron or the politician. You have noticed, by the way, that the wealthy patron of art almost never leaves bequests for the support of living artists. For museums, yes; for struggling young artists, practically never. Why could not students, when they have mastered the grammar of their art, go out one by one, or two friends together, to work on farms and get the feel of the plough and the reaper and learn the beauty and the difficulty of the farmer's experience? Or in the steel mills, they would find heroic material if they would go and themselves run the gauntlet of danger and effort which make up the life of the steel worker. The coal mine and the textile mill, even, the dullest of factories, will be rich in inspiration to the soul of the artist. Little by little the gulf will be bridged between the artist and the workman and one group and then another in the country villages and in the industrial centers will undertake to provide the artist with enough leisure for his creative work.

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The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The last General Meeting of Local 10, although falling on Decoration Eve, was to the surprise of everybody, a very well-attended meeting. It seems that the reason for such a good attendance was the rendering of the report of the last convention by our delegates. The reading of the minutes of the Executive Board did not take up much time and the greater part of the evening was devoted to the rendering of this report.

Brother Perlmutter, the chairman of the delegation, gave a report covering the activities of our delegation at the last convention. The report included the four resolutions which the delegation was instructed to bring in and vote for.

The question of the amalgamation of the two locals, No. 22 and No. 23, under the jurisdiction of the Cloak and Suit Joint Board, was not adopted by the convention. An amendment was made referring this to the incoming General Executive Board.

The second resolution which was introduced by the delegation was in reference to the abolition of the Sanatorium Assessment, with the provision that the money held by the International be refunded to the different locals. This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Another resolution introduced by the delegation which was also unanimously adopted was the resolution on amnesty for political prisoners.

The last resolution introduced by the delegation dealt with the organization of a needle trades department in the American Federation of Labor. This resolution was adopted in principle, but, as was explained on the floor of the convention, a resolution to that effect was introduced two years ago at the American Federation of Labor Convention. However, in view of the fact that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who are practically the controlling power of the men's clothing industry, are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and would naturally not come into that needle trades department, it would therefore not be advisable to have such a department.

Brother Dubinsky, who was elected as Vice President of the International at the convention also reported on the activities of the last convention, citing the resolution that was accepted by the convention instructing the incoming General Executive Board to start agitation for the forty-hour week. He also called the attention of the members to the resolution which was introduced, instructing all Joint Boards not to sign any agreement with manufacturers unless a cutter is employed in their shop.

Brother Berlin was the last one of the delegation to render an extensive report. He stated at the outset that Brother Fish and he were most of the time not in accord with the majority of the delegation in voting on various propositions that came up before the convention. Especially did he cite the case of Brother Shelley, delegate from Local 1.

This brother was rejected by the Credential Committee as a delegate to the convention on the ground that a proposition was made to him in the year of 1920 that he was to engage himself to work for a certain firm and then start an argument with one of the operators whom the firm was anxious to discharge, thereby causing the dismissal of the operator in question. Brother Shelley, in taking a stand in his own defense, admitted that this proposition was made to him but that he never accepted same and that he thought it below his dignity

to even mention such an occurrence to anybody. He furthermore stated that there were no witnesses present when this proposition was made to him and he would therefore be unable to prove any such statements. This case took up considerable time at the convention and after a vote was taken Brother Shelley was ousted.

The rejection of Brother Shelley, as a delegate caused a feeling of bitterness among the delegates, and the timely arrival of Comrade Abe Cahane, editor of the "Forward," who delivered an eloquent address, caused both sides to get together, at which meeting a better understanding was reached.

Another question which Brother Berlin opposed on the floor of the convention was the question of increasing the General Executive Board from fifteen to seventeen members. Brother Berlin was very bitter in denouncing this resolution, on the ground that since the membership did not increase it naturally did not warrant the election of two additional General Executive Board members. He stated that the reason for this resolution was the fact that certain people were interested to make room for certain individuals.

The report of the three delegates took up considerable time, and in view of the fact that the membership was anxious to discuss this report, the other delegates did not report, in order to give the rank and file an opportunity to discuss matters.

Considerable time was taken up by the membership in discussing the resolution introduced at the convention requesting the Soviet Government to release all of its political prisoners. This question, after discussions were closed and the matter put to a vote, was carried by a vote of practically two to one in favor of the resolution.

Before adjournment, an amendment was made on the floor that a committee of fifty be appointed to go out Tuesday, Decoration Day, and watch for cutters who go in to work on that day in violation of the agreement. This motion was carried unanimously and a committee consisting of about thirty-five or forty was appointed by the chairman from the floor.

CLOAK AND SUIT

As has been reported in last week's issue of "Justice," a conference between the union and the manufacturers has taken place on Tuesday of last week. Another conference will be held on Wednesday, May 31st. At the first conference the manufacturers insisted that we take into the conference the American Association. However, as Brother Schlesinger, President of the International, ably replied, he suspects them of trying to involve sixty thousand instead of seven thousand people, which is the approximate number of workers employed by the members of the Manufacturers' Association, and for that reason he could not accede to their wishes in this matter.

As yet no definite results can be given as to the outcome of the conferences, but undoubtedly the interests of the workers will be well taken care of, as they have been in the past, under the able leadership of Brother Schlesinger, who is present at these conferences, together with the rest of the union's conference.

The agreement expires on June 1st and a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Joint Board has been called. An Emergency Committee consisting of the managers of the various locals, under the chair-

manship of Brother Schlesinger, was organized, to take charge of all emergency cases that may arise in the meantime. An Out-of-Town Committee was also organized in charge of a capable organizer, to take care of all the out-of-town shops centered around the City of New York.

WAIST AND DRESS

The situation in the Waist and Dress Industry, as far as employment is concerned, has improved considerably. It seems that the slack season has at last been broken and some work has come up on the horizon. The summer season is in full swing with the vast majority of shops kept busy on cottons. It is hoped

that the situation will improve still more and that the depression which has existed in the industry for the past few months will be a thing of the past.

At a recent meeting of the officers of the Joint Board and local secretaries, various plans were formulated for the reorganization of the Joint Board, but no definite results can be advanced yet. This is a matter of vital importance to the Joint Board and naturally cannot be solved in a week or two. The final outcome of these conferences is expected in the very near future and the results accomplished by these conferences, we are sure, will be beneficial to the industry as a whole.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

General Monday, June 26th
Cloak and Suit Monday, June 5th
Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Monday, June 12th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

Members should not fail to change their working cards when going in or returning to work. They should also not fail to return their working cards when laid off. Anyone failing to comply with this will be subject to a fine by the Executive Board.

Article 7, Section 12, of the Constitution, makes it compulsory for members to attend at least one meeting every three months. Violation of this clause carries with it a fine. Meetings for each month are posted in this notice.